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ABSTRACT

The move to lengthen school days with afterschool programs has support from Democrats and Republicans. Supporters of afterschool programs include child care professionals who believe young children need more supervision, educators who believe children need more academic instruction, and politicians who believe teens need more structured afterschool activities. Such beliefs reflect misunderstanding of important facts. Research indicates that only 2 percent of children aged 5-12 regularly care for themselves after school. Supply of afterschool programs far exceeds demand. Evidence does not support the contention that opening more afterschool programs will boost academic achievement or reduce delinquency. The Clinton administration's request to fund afterschool programs is only a small part of a plan to expand the public school's role. Given the widely acknowledged failure of many government schools to accomplish their primary duty (to educate students), the administration's proposal for expanding the schools' responsibilities is inappropriate. Instead of funding the expansion of government schools, state legislators should adopt universal tuition tax credits that would give parents full latitude to select their children's schools, including independent schools, with or without afterschool programs. Finally, Congress should cease funding afterschool programs. (Contains 94 notes). (SM)

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12-Hour School Days?
Why Government Should Leave Afterschool Arrangements to Parents

by Darcy Olsen

Executive Summary

In the 2000 State of the Union Address, President Clinton proposed the largest-ever federal expenditure on afterschool programs, saying, "Let's double our investments in afterschool and summer school programs, which boost achievement and keep people off the streets and out of trouble." Supporters of afterschool programs include child care professionals who believe young children need more supervision, educators who believe children need more academic instruction, and politicians who believe teens need more structured afterschool activities. Such beliefs, however, reflect a misunderstanding of important facts.

According to data from the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Bureau of the Census, and the *National Child Care Survey*, few children spend time unsupervised. Research indicates that only 2 percent of children aged 5 through 12 regularly care for themselves after school. In addition, the best available evidence indicates that the supply of afterschool programs far exceeds the demand for them. The *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* found a surplus of afterschool programs nationwide, with enrollments averaging only 59 percent of capacity. Finally, evidence does not support the contention that opening more afterschool programs will boost academic achievement or reduce delinquency.

The administration's request to fund afterschool programs is only a small part of a plan to expand the role of public schools. For example, the centerpiece of the administration's afterschool proposal is $1 billion for the federal 21st Century Community Learning Center program. The program's purpose is to turn public schools into "learning centers" that, in addition to regular education, provide afterschool care and at least four other services ranging from parent training and daycare to job training and health programs. Funding for afterschool programs is a down payment on a more expansive government-run school system.

Given the widely acknowledged failure of many government schools to carry out their primary duty—to educate students—the administration's proposal for expanding the schools' responsibilities is exactly the wrong approach. Instead of funding the expansion of government schools, state legislators should adopt universal tuition tax credits that would give parents full latitude to select their children's schools, including independent schools, with or without afterschool programs. Finally, Congress should cease funding afterschool programs.

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Research shows that simply opening more afterschool programs is extremely unlikely to reduce crime.

Introduction

The movement to lengthen the school day with afterschool programs has support from both Democrats and Republicans. President Clinton enthusiastically endorsed afterschool programs in his recent State of the Union Address, saying, "Let's double our investments in afterschool and summer school programs, which boost achievement and keep people off the streets and out of trouble."[1] The centerpiece of the administration's proposal is $1 billion to expand the 21st Century Community Learning Center program, currently funded at $400 million. Republican leaders have also embraced increased spending on afterschool programs. As a gubernatorial candidate in Texas, current Republican presidential contender George W. Bush proposed spending $25 million to provide afterschool programs in Texas.[2] As the putative Republican nominee for president, Bush has called for a greater federal role in education and support of "federal youth programs."[3]

The most prominent advocacy group for federally funded afterschool programs is the Children's Defense Fund. Helen Blank, director of child care and development, and Kim Wade, assistant general counsel, write, "Today, when a majority of parents of school-age children are in the workforce, and when welfare-to-work is a national priority, the need for school-age care has taken on a special urgency."[4] But that is a misconception. According to data from the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Bureau of the Census, and the *National Child Care Survey*,[5] no more than 12 percent of children aged 5 through 12 ever care for themselves, and those who do are alone for about one hour per day on average. Data also show that a child's age, not the family's income, is the primary determinant of whether a child spends time at home alone. In fact, self-care is more likely when family incomes are relatively high and when mothers are better educated.[6] In light of this information, the assertion that there is an urgent need for taxpayer-subsidized afterschool programs is not convincing.

Other proponents of government-run afterschool programs have revived the old saw that "idle hands are the devil's workshop." For example, a DOE publication warns, "Lacking constructive community activities to engage them after school, children are vulnerable to drug use and gang involvement outside of school hours."[7] Although it is true that most criminal behavior takes place in unsupervised settings, there is much more to criminal behavior than mere lack of supervision. Research shows that simply opening more afterschool programs is extremely unlikely to reduce crime.

Furthermore, in many areas schools themselves are not safe; thus, it is not at all certain that afterschool programs will be any safer for participating students. For instance, according to the DOE, in 1997 more than 30 percent of students in grades 9 through 12 were offered, sold, or given an illegal drug on school property; and 33 percent had their property stolen or deliberately damaged on school property.[8] Sometimes schools themselves can be incubators of the very maladies they seek to prevent.

Finally, the idea that current social conditions demand a dramatic expansion of afterschool programs is undermined by the fact that many parents and children choose not to participate in them. The 1993 *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* found that "before- and after-school programs are underutilized nationally—enrollments average only 59 percent of capacity."[9]

Afterschool programs are part of a strategic plan to expand government schools into one-stop shopping centers for social services. The administration's proposal to provide $1 billion for the federal 21st Century Community Learning Center program is a good example. The program's purpose is to turn government schools into "learning centers" that, in addition to regular education, provide afterschool programs and at least four other services ranging from parent training and daycare to job training and health programs. In the DOE

publication "Keeping Schools Open as Community Learning Centers: Extending Learning in a Safe, Drug-Free Environment before and after School," President Clinton explains his support for learning centers: "Our schools are critical to bringing our communities together. We want them to serve the public not just during school hours but after hours: to function as vital community centers; places for recreation and learning . . . gathering places for young people and adults alike."[10] About 1,600 public schools in 471 communities now have 21st Century Community Learning Centers.[11] The administration has made clear that funding afterschool programs is a down payment on a more expansive government-run school system.[12]

Rather than fund the expansion of government schools, state legislators should adopt universal tuition tax credits that would give parents full latitude to select their children's schools, including independent schools, with or without afterschool programs. Such credits would give parents and children a choice of schools and would introduce sorely needed competition into the government monopoly on education. Finally, Congress should cease funding afterschool programs.

Current Government Spending

The federal government currently funds more than 100 grant and loan programs for afterschool care through at least seven federal departments.[13] However, no figures for how much funding actually goes to afterschool programs exist at this time. That is partly because many funds can be used for multiple purposes. For instance, an estimated $20 billion is spent annually to subsidize child care expenses, but government figures do not differentiate between the proportion that goes to school-age care and that used for younger children.[14]

Furthermore, there is no figure for how much states spend on afterschool care, but it appears that the number of states with afterschool programs is increasing. In 1999 the National Conference of State Legislatures reported that since 1986 at least 18 states had appropriated state funding for afterschool programs and at least 18 had authorized school districts to use school facilities to provide services.[15] A 1999 survey by the National Governors' Association found that at least 26 states plan to increase funding for "extra learning opportunities."[16]

Another way to get an idea of how much government spends on afterschool programs is to ask providers what percentage of their program income comes from government subsidies. In 1991, the most recent year for which nationally representative data are available, 10 percent of program income came from government subsidies and one-third of all programs received some government funds.[17] Given the recent spate of new spending, those figures have probably risen.

Although the specific amount of spending is still elusive, the results of that spending are not: The proliferation of state and federal spending on afterschool programs has increased the proportion of public schools with extended-day programs from 13 percent in 1988 to 63 percent in 1998.[18]

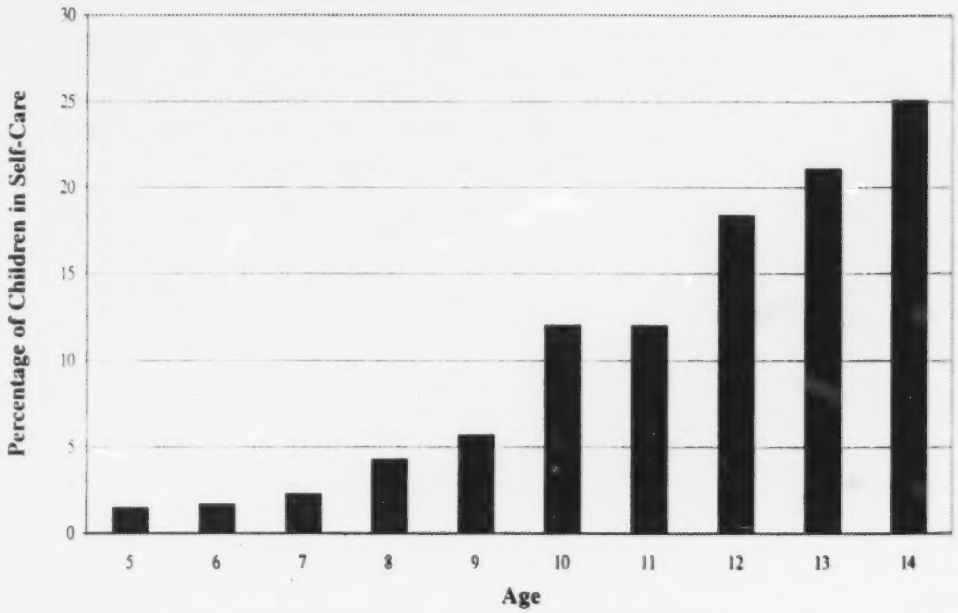
Latch-Key Crisis?

> On any given day in America as many as 15 million school-age children are left to fend for themselves—on the streets or alone at home.
>
> —President Clinton[19]

President Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, the Children's Defense Fund, and other advocates of publicly funded afterschool programs paint a bleak picture of existence for school children in modern times. They argue that the entry of women into the workforce has caused a latch-key crisis, a situation in which millions of children return from school to empty houses.[20] How many children are home alone after school? Is there a latch-key crisis?

State legislators should adopt universal tuition tax credits that would give parents a choice of schools and introduce competition into the government monopoly on education.

Figure 1
Few Young Children Spend Time Unsupervised



Source: Kristin E. Smith and Lynne M. Casper, "Home Alone: Reasons Parents Leave Their Children Unsupervised," Draft of paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, New York, March 25–27, 1999.

Note: Estimates are based on data from the 1995 Survey of Income and Program Participation

Proliferation of state and federal spending on afterschool programs has increased the proportion of public schools with extended-day programs from 13 percent in 1988 to 63 percent in 1998.

Most studies of children who care for themselves after school focus on children aged 5 through 12.[21] That is because children under age 5 are not enrolled in school and because researchers typically presume that teenagers are capable of getting along for short periods of time without direct supervision. Thus, "self-care" usually refers to the care of children of elementary- and middle-school age, who are expected to gradually take on more responsibility for their well-being as they mature.[22] In addition, there are no nationally representative data sets in which afterschool arrangements for teenagers have been thoroughly examined. Consistent with the self-care literature, then, this section examines afterschool arrangements for children aged 5 through 12 unless otherwise stated.

The facts a[illegible]r children's afterschool arrangements show a much healthier picture than the one described by President Clinton. The latest figures on the number and the characteristics of children in self-care come from the 1995 Survey of Income and Program Participation data collected by the Census Bureau.[23] Those data are more inclusive than previous data because they include children of all parents, regardless of their work status, and a direct probe of self-care independent of child care questions.[24] Unlike previous surveys, the 1995 SIPP survey attempted to capture all incidences of self-care, no matter how brief. Even unemployed parents were asked the following question: "Sometimes it is difficult to make arrangements to look after children all of the time, such as before or after school. During a typical week in (last month) did

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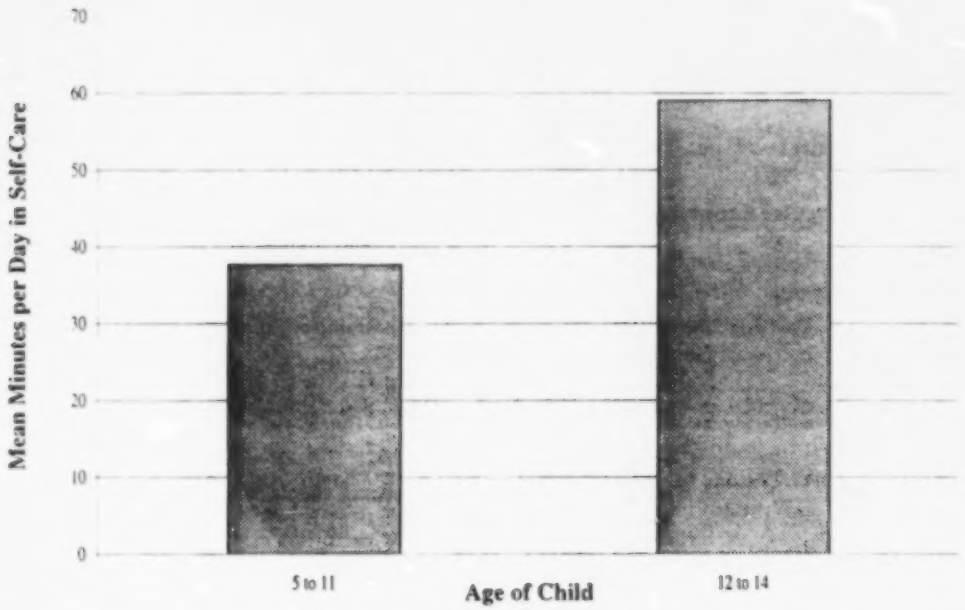
Figure 2
And Those Who Do Are Alone for Only a Short Time



Source: Kristin E. Smith and Lynne M. Casper, "Home Alone: Reasons Parents Leave Their Children Unsupervised," Draft of paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, New York, March 25–27, 1999.

Note: Estimates are based on data from the 1995 Survey of Income and Program Participation.

(Name of child) care for (himself/herself) for even a small amount of time?"[25]

Census Bureau tabulations of the SIPP data show that few young children ever spend time unsupervised and that those who do are alone for only a short time. Only an estimated 12 percent of children aged 5 through 11 ever care for themselves, and they do so for six hours per week on average.[26] As children mature, the prevalence and duration of self-care increase. Figure 1 shows the percentages, by age, of children who care for themselves, and Figure 2 shows the duration of those arrangements. The figures show that the incidence of self-care increases as children mature and that the average per day duration of those arrangements is less for younger children, roughly 40 minutes, than for older children, roughly 60 minutes.

Until the 1995 SIPP data, the most recent estimates of self-care came from the *NCCS*.[27] The *NCCS*, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the National Association for the Education of Young Children, is generally considered to be the best example of well-designed data collection on child care.[28] Comparing findings from SIPP and *NCCS* is possible because the surveys are alike in study design, questionnaire construction, and the concept of self-care.[29] Although the *NCCS* data were collected 10 years ago, the findings are consistent with the most recent SIPP data and therefore are still relevant to current discussions of self-care.

The consistency of findings from the two data sets reinforces the conclusion that few children care for themselves and that those who do spend little time alone. Like the SIPP

Only an estimated 12 percent of children aged 5 through 11 ever care for themselves, and they do so for six hours per week on average.

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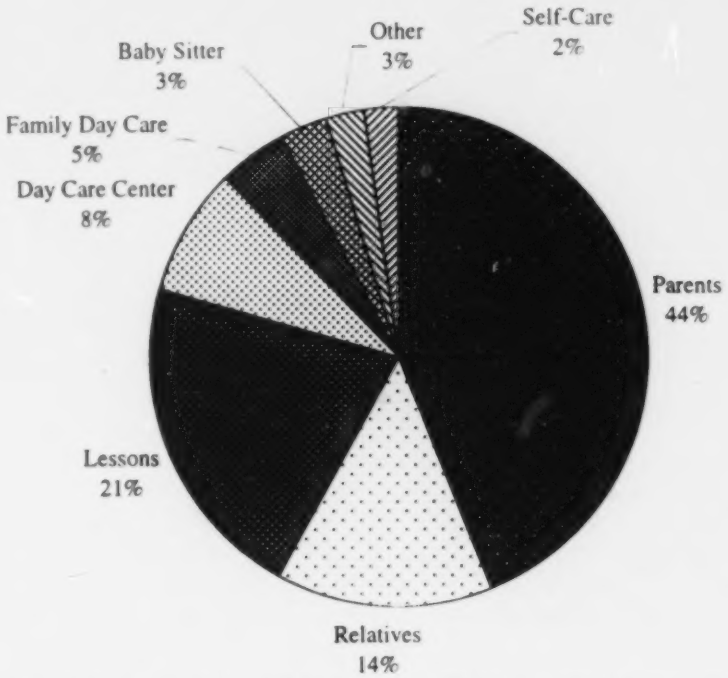
Figure 3
Only 2 Percent of Children Regularly Care for Themselves



Source: Sandra L. Hofferth et al., *National Child Care Survey* (Washington: Urban Institute, 1991), p. 39.

Note: These data reflect the primary care arrangements for children aged 5 through 12 and do not include use of self-care as a secondary or backup arrangement.

Census Bureau researchers concluded, "Contrary to popular belief, we find no evidence of an increase in the prevalence of self care between 1990 and 1995."

data, the *NCCS* reported that only 12 percent of children aged 5 through 12 ever care for themselves.[30] Although the *NCCS* did not collect data on the amount of time spent in self-care, the authors concluded from previous research, "We expect that it is short."[31] As shown in Figure 3, research indicates that 2 percent of children are in self-care as a primary arrangement.[32] And similar to the SIPP data, the *NCCS* showed that the incidence of self-care increases as children mature, finding: "The average age at which parents first allowed their youngest child to care for himself/herself up to one-half hour per day was age 9. The longer the period, the older the child."[33] These findings reinforce the SIPP findings that parents use self-care in moderation and that its prevalence increases as the child gets older.

A comparison of SIPP data with *NCCS* data is also useful because it brings to light trends in arrangements over time. A comparison of the two data sets shows that the incidence of self-care has been constant. Between 1990 and 1995, there was no noticeable increase in self-care, leading Census Bureau researchers Kristin E. Smith and Lynne M. Casper to conclude, "Contrary to popular belief, we find no evidence of an increase in the prevalence of self care between 1990 and 1995."[34]

The limited use and short duration of self-care arrangements might reflect the fact that many parents arrive home shortly after their children or it might reflect time spent shuffling siblings to extracurricular activities or running other errands. Regardless, the

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research does not support the notion of a latch-key crisis. There is no indication that parents leave their children unsupervised often or for extended periods of time.

How do these numbers square with the figures cited by President Clinton? The answer is, not very well. Clinton's statement that "as many as 15 million school-age children are left to fend for themselves" is misleading. Even if one includes self-care arrangements for 13 and 14 year olds, SIPP data indicate that roughly 7 million children, or half the number Clinton cites, aged 5 through 14 spend time unsupervised. It appears the administration has inflated the number of children in self-care by including teenagers—adolescents who often hold jobs, drive, and can even marry or serve in the military—in its estimates of children who need afterschool care.

A Surplus of Afterschool Programs

> There is a chronic shortage of afterschool programs available to serve children.
>
> —U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice[35]

The 1993 *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* is the first and only study to provide a nationwide picture of the features of formal school- and center-based programs for children. Like other studies on afterschool arrangements, this one examined characteristics of programs serving children aged 5 through 12. The study completed a trio of studies on child care sponsored by the DOE and the Department of Health and Human Services that included the *Profile of Child Care Settings* and the *NCCS*.[36]

The 1993 study found a surplus of afterschool programs in excess of 40 percent: "Overall, the mean utilization of space in licensed before- and after-school programs was 59 percent."[37] Researchers discovered that was as true for programs serving lower-income families as for those serving higher-income families: "Utilization rates do not significantly vary among programs in terms of whether they primarily serve children from lower-income families (mean of 62 percent versus 58 percent)."[38] Moreover, one in four programs was experiencing vacancy rates greater than 75 percent, suggesting that either some localities have a tremendous glut of programs or the programs aren't considered very desirable.

Since the *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* was conducted, countless public and private initiatives have increased the total number of providers. For instance, statistics show that the proportion of public schools with extended-day programs quintupled, from 13 percent in 1988 to 63 percent in 1998.[39] The proportion of private schools with extended-day programs also grew dramatically, from 31 percent in 1988 to 49 percent in 1994.[40] Private foundations, too, have been working to increase the supply of programs. The Mott Foundation has committed $80 million to support the expansion of afterschool programs; the Dewitt Wallace Readers Digest Fund is providing about $13 million to support program replication and research; and the Open Society Institute, pledging $125 million, created the After-School Corporation.[41]

The expansion of afterschool programs that has taken place since the 1993 national study was conducted suggests that the current availability of programs may well exceed 1993 levels, which were in excess of 40 percent. The DOE's contention that there is a "chronic shortage of afterschool programs" is based not on the actual supply and demand for such programs but rather on the arbitrary assumption that there must be a place for every child.

The Impact of Self-Care

Lacking constructive community activities to engage them after school, children are vulnerable to

Clinton's statement that "as many as 15 million school-age children are left to fend for themselves" is misleading.

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drug use and gang involvement outside of school hours.

—U.S. Department of Education[42]

Most discussions of afterschool programs begin with the assumption that lack of supervision is harmful to children. From time to time, that assumption is reinforced by images of neglected children flashed across television screens or in headlines in local papers. Yet most Americans recall spending time alone as children without incident, sometimes finishing chores and homework or playing with friends. It seems that, depending on the child and the circumstances, spending time unsupervised can be good or bad. The best available research suggests that is the case.

Studies suggest that the benefits or harms of any given self-care arrangement are highly individual and that self-care defies broad classification as a "good" or "bad" arrangement.

Policymakers should understand that the research comparing children in self-care with those in afterschool arrangements is extremely limited. Very little is known about the benefits that might be conferred by various types of afterschool programs, such as study skills programs or community-based programs, or about the benefits children might reap from self-care or a variety of extracurricular activities. The body of literature on the impact of self-care and afterschool programs is small, and many studies have low response rates and are based on samples that are undersized or not randomly selected.[43]

Given the limited research base, what is known about self-care? Is the impact of self-care on children good, bad, or neutral? In a thorough survey of the literature on self-care, Deborah Belle, associate professor of psychology at Boston University, reported that the results of studies are mixed: "Empirical research has produced unexpected findings. Some studies report problems for unsupervised children, others find no differences between supervised and unsupervised children, and credible studies have reported poorer outcomes for children who spend afterschool time with older siblings, babysitters, afterschool teachers, and their own mothers, than for children who spend afterschool time on their own."[44]

For instance, one study found no association between afterschool program participation and children's behavioral adjustment for middle-income children but found a beneficial impact for lower-income children.[45] Another study found that teachers, parents, and peers rated the behavioral of middle-class children who attended daycare programs after school more negatively than that of children in self-care. Children in the daycare setting also had lower grades and standardized test scores and more problematic social and emotional functioning than did children in self-care.[46] Still another study found that low-income third-grade children who spent more time alone had more behavior problems than those who did not but that spending time alone had no impact on low-income fifth-grade children.[47]

The contradictory findings may be due partly to differences in the samples and the wide variation among self-care arrangements.[48] For instance, there is no consistent definition across studies of what constitutes self-care. In some studies, self-care constitutes spending as little as 30 minutes per week alone; in other studies self-care constitutes spending at least two hours per day alone. Contradictory findings also arise because of differences in children's ages, family structure and characteristics, neighborhood settings, and the characteristics of the individual children. As Belle puts it: "Children's self-care arrangements vary enormously in many ways, and this variety helps to explain the lack of research consensus to date about the implications of self-care. Self-care is a lonely experience for many children, but a richly supported one for others. To some children self-care means freedom, whereas to others it represents valued responsibilities, and to still others it entails onerous restrictions."[49]

To summarize, studies offer limited evidence that self-care can have both negative and positive short-term impacts on children, which depend on several factors, including a child's age, maturity, and individual temperament as well as family characteristics and

afterschool settings. At this time, no studies have examined the long-term impact or the consequences of various self-care arrangements on children. This suggests that the benefits or harms of any given self-care arrangement are highly individual and that self-care therefore defies broad classification as a "good" or "bad" arrangement.

It is important to note that the factors that seem to determine whether self-care is a positive experience for children in the short term, including a child's age, maturity, temperament, proclivities, and neighborhood, are factors parents consider when selecting afterschool arrangements. In the *NCCS*, parents who used self-care for their children were asked to state the most important prerequisite for leaving their child in self-care. Slightly more than 50 percent of parents cited the child's maturity or independence, 14 percent cited access to a reliable neighbor, 14 percent cited access to a telephone, and 14 percent cited safety in the home or the neighborhood. Only 0.3 percent of parents using self-care cited family finances.[50] Those findings suggest that self-care is not, as some advocates fear, a function primarily of inadequate financial resources.

Advocates for public subsidies argue that parents are too embarrassed to tell the truth; if they couldn't afford better arrangements for their children, they would hesitate to say so.[51] Yet the reasons parents give for using self-care are perfectly consistent with objective reports of the kinds of children in self-care settings. The *NCCS* and the SIPP indicate that age is the primary determinant of spending time home alone. Self-care is more likely when parents and children perceive their neighborhoods to be safe, when family incomes are relatively high, and when mothers are better educated.[52] Those findings reinforce parents' reports that self-care is not simply or even primarily a function of resources; rather, it is a result of a complex decisionmaking process in which parents consider many factors particular to their child and their neighborhood environment.

The Impact of Afterschool Programs

Some advocates for publicly funded afterschool programs argue that, even if children are not harmed by self-care, afterschool programs should be made available for all children because such programs provide opportunities for academic and social enrichment. If afterschool programs were available for all children, would students' academic achievement improve? A review of the research on afterschool programs shows there is no evidence to support that contention.

Olatokunbo Fashola of Johns Hopkins University has to date compiled the most current, comprehensive review of the literature on the effectiveness of afterschool programs. She categorized afterschool programs into five types: language arts programs, study skills programs, academically oriented programs, volunteer tutoring programs, and community-based programs. Her review included the most widely cited afterschool programs, for example, Voyager Expanded Learning, LA's Best, New York City Beacons Program, and Boys and Girls Clubs, and programs for students from kindergarten through 12th grade.

Fashola found that the body of literature is plagued with serious methodological shortcomings that limit the conclusions that can be drawn from the research. She writes: "Our review shows that research on afterschool programs is at a very rudimentary stage. Few studies of the effects of afterschool programs on achievement or other outcomes meet minimal standards of research design. Almost all of these studies suffer from selection bias. . . . Most often, afterschool programs are voluntary, so presumably it is more highly motivated children (or children of more motivated parents) who attend them."[53] In addition, she noted that most research has involved middle-income Caucasian students, "making the results difficult to generalize to disadvantaged or minority children."[54] Moreover, no longitu-

The *NCCS* and the SIPP indicate that age is the primary determinant of spending time home alone.

There is no evidence that children are better off in afterschool programs than in any number of other activities they might enjoy after school.

dinal studies isolate the effects of attending afterschool programs on children's long-term outcomes.[55]

In addition to being of limited use because of methodological flaws, studies on the effectiveness of afterschool programs have produced highly inconsistent results.[56] Of the programs Fashola included in her review, nine showed evidence of effectiveness or partial effectiveness, whereas 24 did not.[57] Given the methodological shortcomings and the inconsistent findings of available studies, it seems premature to conclude that afterschool programs are or are not effective: the evidence is not reliable enough to be convincing on either count.

Fashola concludes: "Afterschool programs are increasing rapidly and receiving strong support from the Clinton administration, from Congress, and from state and local policymakers. As is often the case, this enthusiasm and rapid growth is running far ahead of the research base. . . . There is much to be done before these or other programs can be considered proven, replicable means of increasing student achievement or other outcomes."[58] In short, advocates for publicly funded afterschool programs have yet to present convincing evidence that opening afterschool programs will improve students' academic achievement.

Fashola's review echoes other reviews on the links between children's participation in various youth development programs and positive social behavior, including success in school. In 1992 the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development commissioned a task force to review evaluations of youth-serving organizations. The task force's findings became part of the seminal study *A Matter of Time*. In that report, the task force concluded that many organizations had failed to allocate financial resources for outcome evaluations and many had weak evaluation designs, which led to unsubstantiated claims about program effectiveness. In 1999 leading researchers updated *A Matter of Time* and, after extensively searching social science databases and reviewing more than 60 evaluation studies, found "few, if any, improvements in the quality or quantity of the evaluations of youth development programs."[59] The researchers underscored this critical point, saying, "Conversations with experts in the field confirm the general lack of quality evaluations of youth development programs and organizations."[60] Despite the paucity of reliable data, the researchers believe there is preliminary support for the idea that some afterschool programs may help "poor urban youth." But, they caution: "Much remains to be done to determine whether or not such programs make a difference in the lives of all young people and subgroups. . . . Nationally, there is a strong interest in expanding adolescents' access to youth development programs. The current mismatch between the enthusiasm and experiential testimony for these programmatic efforts, on the one hand, and definitive empirical evidence, on the other hand, however, calls into question the efficacy of such efforts."[61]

There is a clear consensus among experts in the field that the research on afterschool programs is riddled with methodological flaws and the findings are inconsistent and inconclusive. To date, the body of available evidence cannot support the contention that afterschool programs will improve students' academic achievement. There is no evidence that children are better off in afterschool programs than in any number of other activities they might enjoy after school, for example, studying or relaxing; spending time with parents, relatives, or friends; working; or participating in community service or extracurricular activities.[62] Research simply cannot support the claim that participating in afterschool programs will benefit children.

Will Afterschool Programs Prevent Crime?

President Clinton, the Children's Defense Fund, and the prominent afterschool program advocacy group Fight Crime: Invest in Kids say afterschool programs will reduce juvenile crime.[63] Since Department of Justice

statistics show juvenile crime peaks in the afternoon, proponents of afterschool programs reason that afterschool programs will reduce juvenile crime. Fight Crime: Invest in Kids says: "When we send millions of young people out on the streets after school with no responsible supervision or constructive activities, we reap a massive dose of juvenile crime. If, instead, we were to provide students with quality afterschool programs, safe havens from negative influences, and constructive recreational, academic enrichment and community service activities, we would dramatically reduce crime."[64]

Statistics indicate that juvenile crime peaks in the afternoon hours, but how extensive is the problem of juvenile crime? Data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Census Bureau show that the overwhelming majority of juveniles exhibit neither delinquent nor criminal behavior. Such data render questionable the assumption that all children should participate in afterschool programs. For instance, Department of Justice crime statistics suggest that fewer than 1 percent of juveniles aged 10 to 17 violated curfew and loitering laws in 1998 and about one-quarter of 1 percent of juveniles committed violent crimes.[65] Arrest rates for drug and alcohol violations were also less than 1 percent.[66] Even statistics for property crimes, which have the highest crime index, show that fewer than 2 percent of juveniles committed such crimes.[67]

Since not every crime results in an arrest or a victim report, crime statistics can't capture all incidences of criminal or delinquent behavior. Another way to attempt to capture the incidence of criminal and delinquent behavior is to ask juveniles themselves about their involvement in various activities. One of the best applications of that approach is the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, which reported on the behavior of a nationally representative sample of youth between the ages of 12 and 16. The survey examined a number of "deviant and delinquent" behaviors and showed that most teens are not deviant or delinquent. An estimated 8 of 10 teens are not regularly having sex, smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, or using marijuana. Fewer still have ever been arrested (8 percent), stolen something worth more than $50 (8 percent), sold any drugs (7 percent), become pregnant (6 percent), or belonged to a gang (5 percent).[68]

The best available information on juvenile criminal activity strongly suggests that the overwhelming majority of juveniles do not commit crimes or engage in delinquent behavior. Practically speaking, that low incidence of juvenile crime seems to call for narrow, highly targeted crime prevention efforts, not universal afterschool programs for all children. Over the past 35 years there have been several attempts to target crime prevention efforts in high-crime areas, primarily through community-based afterschool programs. The best empirical evidence on those community-based afterschool programs suggests that afterschool programs can do little, if anything, to reduce delinquency rates or curb crime.

The overwhelming majority of juveniles do not commit crimes or engage in delinquent behavior.

In 1997 the Department of Justice selected researchers at the University of Maryland's Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice to conduct a congressionally mandated evaluation of crime prevention programs that the *New York Times* called "the most comprehensive study ever of crime prevention."[69] The researchers reviewed more than 500 evaluations of juvenile crime prevention practices and established a "provisional list of what works, what doesn't, and what's promising."[70] The report included evaluations of the studies cited most often in the literature on afterschool programs and delinquency, including the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program, the Canadian public housing project study, the Boys and Girls Club study, and the Boys Club study. Although some of those programs showed promise, none made the list of "what works."

For a program to be assessed as working, it had to have a minimum of two separate evaluations in which a comparison, between a group with a program and one without, was made with statistical significance tests showing effectiveness. Random assignment

was not necessary. As the researchers put it, a working program was one that was "reasonably likely, but not guaranteed, to be effective in preventing some form of crime."[71] By that standard, no community-based afterschool programs made the list of what works to prevent or reduce crime.[72]

Researchers defined "what doesn't work" using the same standard as was used for "what works." As the researchers put it, these are programs that "we are reasonably certain from available evidence fail to prevent crime or reduce risk factors for crime."[73] Among those failed strategies were school-based recreational activities such as Midnight Basketball.[74] Denise Gottfredson, coauthor of "Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising" and professor in the University of Maryland Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, sums up the literature on recreational programs this way:

> The only compelling argument for continuing to consider this approach is that they may be able to provide adult supervision when it would otherwise be lacking. But research indicates that programs intending to provide such supervision for unsupervised youth in the afterschool hours may actually increase risk for delinquency. These investigators found that (1) the students most in need of afterschool supervision chose not to participate in the program, (2) the program increased risk-taking and impulsiveness, and (3) the program worked no better for latch-key children than for children who had access to other supervision during the after school hours. . . . At this point in time, expectations for these programs far exceed their empirical record.[75]

Lawrence Sherman, a renowned juvenile crime expert and professor of human relations in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, confirms Gottfredson's finding: "The hypothesis that recreation can prevent crime has become one of the most acrimonious in the history of crime policy. . . . What is most revealing about the debate . . . is the virtual indifference it has displayed to empirical evidence. Rather than arguing on theoretical grounds alone, it would seem more valuable to test the hypothesis scientifically. . . . School-based programs have been tested and found ineffective at preventing crime and delinquency."[76]

Finally, the researchers included a list of "what's promising," for which "the level of certainty from available evidence is too low to support generalizable conclusions, but for which there is some empirical basis for predicting that further research could support such conclusions."[77] They found one study of community-based mentoring by Big Brothers/Big Sisters that showed a reduction in substance abuse, although evaluations of at least six other programs with mentoring as a major component did not.[78] The researchers also found that community-based afterschool recreation programs might be able to reduce juvenile crime in the areas immediately around the recreation centers and cited three studies as evidence: the Canadian public housing project, the BGC study, and the Boys Club study.

The Canadian public housing project offered the strongest evidence of a beneficial program effect. Over three years, low-income children aged 5 to 15 were provided an intensive afterschool program in sports, music, dancing, and scouting, while a comparison site, a public-housing project, had only minimal city services. Compared with a baseline period of two years prior to the program, arrests of juveniles in the program site declined 75 percent, and in the same time period, arrests of juveniles in the comparison site rose 67 percent.

The BGC study examined three groups of five housing projects each: one group had a traditional BGC program, the second received a new BGC supplemented by another prevention program, and the third had no club and functioned as the control site.

The low incidence of juvenile crime seems to call for narrow, highly targeted crime prevention efforts, not universal afterschool programs for all children.

Observational and police data indicated a decline in drug use in the new BGC site. Records also showed small changes in vandalism in the housing units: vandalism rates declined from 8 to 6 percent in the new BGC sites, remained unchanged in the existing BGC sites, and rose from 8 to 9 percent in the control sites.

The Boys Club study was a 1950s program that examined delinquency in an area served by a Boys Club. The club included traditional activities at the building and a summer camp program. While the study found declining juvenile delinquency relative to two comparison areas without a club, after the first two years, there were similar trends in delinquency in the program and the comparison areas. Researchers concluded, "The lack of significance tests and other checks on validity limit the value of this study."[79]

Despite labeling those community recreation programs as "promising," the researchers cautioned policymakers to be aware of the potential for recreation programs to backfire and increase criminal behavior. Why would a program intended to provide a safe haven for youth actually increase delinquency? Research has shown that grouping together high-risk youth can increase opportunities for delinquency and increase risk taking and impulsiveness.[80] Sherman explains: "The danger of violent conflicts being generated by club activities is just as open a question as the potential benefits of the programs. Careful research is needed. . . . More funding of operations alone will leave the policy decision vulnerable to ideological and symbolic politics, rather than rational decisions on the merits of reliable evidence."[81]

It is also important to note that the two community-based programs that showed the most promise, the Canadian public housing project and the BGC study, studied low-income children living in housing projects. Findings from studies on this at-risk population cannot be extrapolated to the general population. Youth in housing developments are statistically more inclined to substance abuse and maladaptive behavior. Data show for instance that 11 percent of housing development youth have been reported for violent delinquent behavior.[82] If afterschool programs could be proven to work in those communities, it would not necessarily follow that afterschool programs need to be universally available.

Other reviews support those findings.[83] In *Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: Measuring Costs and Benefits*, RAND researchers reported: "Many of these [violence prevention programs] emphasize dispute-resolution skills, mentoring, after-school activities, all of which are hoped to reduce the immediate likelihood of violence among youth. Unfortunately, despite a number of recent programs designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of such activities, their value for reducing violence remains a matter of speculation or faith rather than an empirically demonstrated fact."[84] The RAND team found one program that seemed to work to reduce delinquency: the Quantum Opportunity Program. This program, although not a typical afterschool program, is frequently cited in the afterschool literature as an example of a successful afterschool program.[85]

The QOP was a multiservice, four-year, year-round demonstration project in four communities between 1989 and 1993.[86] It was community based and had several components, including intensive education tutoring, life skills training, mentoring, community service, and work projects. Importantly, the program also had built-in financial incentives. In the most successful site, Philadelphia, the average per youth direct payments were $3,000 for stipends, $900 for completion bonuses, and $4,100 for an "opportunity account" to be used after high school, for a total of $8,000.[87] An examination of crime rates at three of the four sites showed the average number of arrests was 0.28 among QOP youth and 0.56 among controls, for a 28 percentage point difference.[88]

While the QOP program looks promising, its results are based on small sample sizes, and the findings have not been replicated. Certainly replication with larger samples would be in order before researchers can com-

There is evidence that the students most in need of afterschool supervision often don't participate in the programs.

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fortably assert that this program "works" to curb juvenile crime among at-risk youth. Even if QOP one day proves to be effective at reducing juvenile crime, calling it an "afterschool program" is a gross mischaracterization. Afterschool programs typically offer tutorial or recreational services for a few hours after school, while QOP was an intense program offering far more services in addition to cash and scholarship incentives for participants. Furthermore, it served high-risk youth, calling into question the claim that such programs should be universally available.

Policymakers should also remember that for an afterschool program to work, children who would otherwise commit crimes would have to attend those programs. But there is evidence that the students most in need of afterschool supervision often don't participate in the programs.[89] Thus, even if afterschool programs could reduce delinquency among high-risk children, those who are most at risk for criminal behavior are unlikely to participate. The best available evidence indicates that keeping schools open longer and increasing funds for school-based afterschool programs are extremely unlikely to reduce delinquency.

Private assistance is widespread and steady, and there is every reason to believe that private providers will continue to help families who need financial assistance.

Alternatives to Government Programs

Private providers and entrepreneurs can and do respond to parents' demands for extraparental supervision for their children. One indication of this comes from findings from the *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs*. The study found that private school-sponsored programs have been in operation an average of 15 years and for-profit providers an average of 13 years—more than twice as long as public school-based programs.[90] This suggests that, when demand exists, free enterprise responds and does so much more rapidly than do government-run schools. Furthermore, the *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* found that private for-profit providers are also more likely than are public programs to operate during the summer (96 versus 62 percent), during school holidays (96 versus 62 percent), during vacations (95 versus 65 percent), and on snow days and when schools are closed (89 versus 46 percent). Not surprising, perhaps, the study concludes, "Our findings suggest that private programs, whether nonprofit or for-profit, are more geared to market demands."[91]

Critics say that the private marketplace might work well for privileged families, but children from lower-income families will be shut out because their parents can't afford to pay. But critics underestimate the generosity and business sense of American entrepreneurs. The *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* found that 39 percent of private nonprofit providers and 15 percent of private for-profit providers adjust fees on the basis of family income. In addition, 34 percent of private nonprofit providers offer scholarships and tuition grants.[92] That assistance may stem from generosity of spirit or a desire for better public relations, but the results are the same. Private assistance is widespread and steady, and there is every reason to believe that private providers will continue to help families who need financial assistance.

Employers, too, have developed and can develop policies to make it easier for parents to make afterschool arrangements. The DOE reports that 29 percent of employees in the United States are offered flextime, which gives them flexibility to determine which early morning or late afternoon hours they will work. Some employers also offer such options as job-sharing, part-time arrangements, and telecommuting, which can help families meet afterschool needs.[93]

Legislators might also consider state-level universal tuition tax credits as an alternative to more government programs and increased spending. That approach could give parents full latitude to select their children's schools, including independent schools, with or without afterschool programs. Like a traditional tuition or education-expense tax credit, the universal tuition tax credit allows a parent to

claim a credit against his or her personal income tax for school tuition or school-related expenses. Unlike the traditional tax credit approach, however, the universal tuition tax credit can benefit children in families with little or no income tax liability. While traditional tax credits may be used only by parents to offset their taxes, the universal nature of the tuition tax credit allows any taxpayer to reduce his tax liability by paying a child's tuition. For instance, friends or relatives of a student could pay all or part of the student's tuition and receive a credit against their income tax. A business could also pay a student's tuition and receive a credit against its applicable tax. In Arizona, for example, nonprofit organizations have opened tuition clearinghouses that match tuition tax credit contributions from individual taxpayers with students from low-income families. In this way, the universal tuition tax credit can provide choices for all families, including those with little or no income tax liability.[94] Instead of expanding government schools, this approach allows parents to choose from a variety of schools with and without afterschool programs.

Conclusion

Beneath the political establishment's enthusiastic endorsement of afterschool programs rests a stunning body of evidence that families are perfectly adept at managing afterschool arrangements without state assistance. According to data from the DOE, the Census Bureau, and the *NCCS*, most children are still greeted by their parents after school. Millions of other kids choose to participate in structured extracurricular activities with well-known private organizations like 4-H, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and YMCA. Still other children visit with relatives, study, or participate in local community activities. Only 2 percent of children aged 5 through 12 regularly care for themselves after school, and there is no evidence that this limited arrangement is harmful.

In addition, the supply of afterschool programs far exceeds the demand for them. The *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* found a large surplus of afterschool programs nationwide, with vacancy rates upward of 40 percent. Finally, research does not support the contention that keeping schools open longer or increasing funds for afterschool programs will boost academic achievement or reduce delinquency.

The administration's request to fund afterschool programs is only a small part of a plan to expand the role of public schools. The centerpiece of the administration's proposal, the $1 billion for the federal 21st Century Community Learning Center program, aims to turn public schools into "learning centers" that, in addition to regular education, provide afterschool care and at least four other social programs. Even people who may be perfectly happy with a government that provides basic educational services tend to find something discomfiting about the notion of the federal government's selecting and paying for children's afterschool arrangements. Legislators who support this program are making a down payment on a more expansive government-run school system—a system that protects its territory at the expense of the education of millions of children. A far better approach would be for state legislators to adopt universal tuition tax credits that would give parents full latitude to select their children's schools, including independent schools, with or without afterschool programs. Finally, Congress should cease federal spending on afterschool programs.

Notes

1. William Jefferson Clinton, "State of the Union Address," White House, Office of the Press Secretary, January 27, 2000.

2. R. G. Ratcliffe, "Campaign 98: Voters Get Education in Several Campaigns," *Houston Chronicle*, October 18, 1998, p. A1.

3. See http://www.georgewbush.com/issues/domestic/education/points.asp.

4. Helen Blank and Kim Wade, "School-Age Care:

Legislators who support afterschool programs are making a down payment on an expansive government-run school system that protects its territory at the expense of the education of millions of children.

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Federal Funding Opportunities," Children's Defense Fund, March 1999, p. 1.

5. Sandra L. Hofferth et al., *National Child Care Survey* (Washington: Urban Institute, 1991). The *NCCS* was published by the Urban Institute as one of three surveys designed to collect data on various aspects of child care arrangements in the United States.

6. Sandra L. Hofferth, Zita Jankuniene, and Peter D. Brandon, "Self-Care among School-Age Children," National Institute of Child Health & Human Development, Family and Child Well-Being Research Network, February 28, 2000, pp. 5, 6, 29. See also Ross D. Parke and Robin L. O'Neil, "Neighborhoods of Southern California Children and Families," *Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 58–63.

7. Adriana de Kanter et al., "Keeping Schools Open as Community Learning Centers: Extending Learning in a Safe, Drug-Free Environment before and after School," Partnership for Family Involvement in Education, U.S. Department of Education, n.d., p. 1, http://www.ed.gov.

8. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics 1999* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1999), p. 161.

9. Patricia Seppanen, Dianne Kaplan deVries, and Michelle Seligson, *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs* (Washington: Office of Policy and Planning, U.S. Department of Education, 1993), p. 16. The median utilization rate was 48 percent.

10. Quoted in de Kanter et al., p. v.

11. See http://www.ed.gov/21stcclc/.

12. See Democratic Leadership Council, "Push Schools toward a 12/12 Schedule," *Blueprint: Ideas for a New Century* (Fall 1999): 5–6, 61–62.

13. See www.afterschool.gov. The Web site is sponsored by the Federal Support to Communities Initiative, the National Partnership for Reinventing Government, and the General Services Administration.

14. Mary B. Larner, Lorraine Zippiroli, and Richard E. Behrman, "When School Is Out: Analysis and Recommendations," *Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 13. For more information on federal expenditures, see www.afterschool.gov; Blank and Wade, pp. 1–30; and April Kaplan and Heidi Sachs, "Financing School-Age Out-of-School Time Programs with Welfare-Related Funding Sources," *Welfare Information Network Issue Notes* 3, no. 6 (August 1999): 1–10.

15. Those numbers may understate the growth in publicly funded afterschool care because the figures include neither legislation enacted prior to 1986 nor all state budget bills. See National Conference of State Legislatures, *State Legislative Summary: Children, Youth, and Family Issues, 1986–1999* (in press).

16. See the National Governors' Association Center for Best Practices, http://www.nga.org/smartkids4ourfuture/ELOResults.htm.

17. Seppanen, deVries, and Seligson, p. 51.

18. Extended-time programs include before-school, afterschool, and weekend programs, but afterschool programs are the most common. These estimates are somewhat higher than similar estimates from the Follow-Up Public School Survey sponsored by the DOE. The authors of that survey explain: "It is believed that these differences are due to different wording in the school questionnaires administered by the two studies. . . . The specific inclusion of tutorial programs in the questionnaire wording apparently caused a greater number of schools to respond positively when asked if they offered extended time programs." Jay Chambers et al., *Study of Education Resources and Federal Funding: Preliminary Report* (Washington: Office of Planning and Evaluation Service, U.S. Department of Education, 1999), pp. 93, 96; and Robin R. Henke et al., *Schools and Staffing in the United States: A Statistical Profile, 1993–94* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1996), p. 8.

19. William Jefferson Clinton, "Fact Sheet: President Clinton Announces New Grants for After-School Programs," White House, Office of the Press Secretary, November 12, 1998.

20. Ibid.; Blank and Wade, pp. 1–3; and Albert Gore, "Vice President Gore Announces Initiative to Support Safe, High-Quality Afterschool Programs to Aid Working Families," White House, Office of the Vice President, September 13, 1999.

21. Discussions of children in self-care in the two most well regarded studies documenting the characteristics of self-care and afterschool arrangements focused on children aged 5 through 12. See Seppanen, deVries, and Seligson; and Sandra L. Hofferth et al. In a new analysis of data from the 1995 Survey of Income and Program Participation, Census Bureau researchers Kristin Smith and Lynne Casper examined arrangements for children aged 5

through 14. See Kristin E. Smith and Lynne M. Casper, "Home Alone: Reasons Parents Leave Their Children Unsupervised," Draft of paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America, New York, March 25-27, 1999.

22. Fewer than 1 percent of preschool children are in self-care. See Hofferth et al., p. 289. For more information on child care arrangements for preschool-aged children, see Darcy Olsen, "The Advancing Nanny State: Why the Government Should Stay Out of Child Care," Cato Institute Policy Analysis no. 285, October 23, 1997; and Nancy Kerrebrock and Eugene M. Lewit, "Children in Self-Care," *Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 153.

23. In the Survey of Income and Program Participation and the *NCCS*, self-care is defined as any time a child spends caring for himself. Across impact studies, there is no consistent definition of what constitutes self-care. In some studies, self-care constitutes spending as little as 30 minutes per week alone; in other studies, self-care constitutes spending at least two hours per day alone.

24. Smith and Casper, p. 11.

25. Ibid., p. 12.

26. Ibid., p. 27.

27. Hofferth et al.

28. Kerrebrock and Lewit, p. 154.

29. Smith and Casper, p. 4.

30. Hofferth et al., p. 288.

31. They based their conclusion in part on data from the Current Population Survey 1984, which showed that almost 90 percent of children in self-care after school were alone for less than two hours and that two of three who were in self-care before school were alone for less than one hour. Ibid.

32. The percentage of children in self-care cited earlier by the *NCCS* (12 percent) is greater than the percentage shown in Figure 3 (2 percent), because the *NCCS* figure includes all instances of self-care, no matter how brief. By contrast, the 2 percent figure reflects primary arrangements only and therefore does not include the use of self-care as a secondary or backup arrangement. See Hofferth et al., pp. 39, 288.

33. Ibid., p. 418.

34. Smith and Casper, p. 27. These findings were confirmed in Hofferth, Jankuniene, and Brandon, which updated the national estimates of self-care using the 1990-93 panels of the SIPP and the 1997 Child Development Supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, conducted by the University of Michigan.

35. U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice, *Safe and Smart: Making the After-School Hours Work for Kids* (Washington: Government Printing Office, June 1998), p. 5, http://www.ed.gov or http://www.ncjrs.org/ojjhome.htm.

36. See Seppanen, deVries, and Seligson.

37. The median utilization rate was 48 percent. Ibid., p. 31.

38. Ibid.

39. Chambers et al., pp. 93, 96; and Henke et al., p. 8.

40. Ibid. More recent figures on the number of extended-day programs in private schools are not available.

41. Joy G. Dryfoos, "The Role of the School in Children's Out-of-School Time," *Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 130.

42. De Kanter et al., p. 1.

43. Beth Miller, "Out-of-School Time: Effects on Learning in the Primary Grades," School-Age Child Care Project, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Action Research Paper no. 4, 1995, pp. 31-34.

44. Deborah Belle, "Varieties of Self-Care: A Qualitative Look at Children's Experiences in the After-School Hours," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly Journal of Developmental Psychology* 43, no. 3 (July 1997): 478-79.

45. Nancy L. Marshall et al., "After-School Time and Children's Behavioral Adjustment," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly Journal of Developmental Psychology* 43, no. 3 (July 1997): 497-514.

46. Deborah Lowe Vandell and M. A. Corasaniti, "The Relation between Third Graders' After-School Care and Social, Academic, and Emotional Functioning," *Child Development* 59, no. 4 (August 1988): 868-75.

47. Deborah Lowe Vandell and Lee Shumow, "After-School Child Care Programs," *Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 67.

48. See ibid., p. 67; Marshall et al., pp. 497-514; and Gregory S. Pettit et al., "Patterns of After-School Care in Middle Childhood: Risk Factors and

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Developmental Outcomes," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly Journal of Developmental Psychology* 43, no. 3 (July 1997): 515–38.

49. Belle, p. 492.

50. Hofferth et al., p. 297.

51. Personal conversation.

52. Hofferth, Jankuniene, and Brandon. See also Ross D. Parke and Robin L. O'Neil, "Neighborhoods of Southern California Children and Families," *Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1999): pp. 58–63.

53. Olatokunbo S. Fashola, "Review of Extended-Day and After-School Programs and Their Effectiveness," Johns Hopkins University Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk, Report no. 24, October 1998, p. 50.

54. Ibid., p. 3.

55. See Deborah Vandell, Lee Shumow, and Jill Posner, "Children's After-School Programs: Promoting Resiliency or Vulnerability?" in *Promoting Resiliency in Families and Children at Risk: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. H. I. McCubbin et al. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, in press).

56. Fashola, pp. 1–3.

57. Ibid., p. 69.

58. Ibid., pp. 54–56.

59. Jodie Roth et al., "Youth Development Programs," in *America's Disconnected Youth*, ed. Douglas Besharov (Washington: Child Welfare League of America, 1999), p. 274.

60. Ibid., p. 293.

61. Ibid., pp. 288–89.

62. See Nicholas Zill, Christine Winquist Nord, and Laura Spencer Loomis, "Adolescent Time Use, Risky Behavior, and Outcomes: An Analysis of National Data," Children and Youth Data Analysis Projects, Westat, Inc., Rockville, Maryland, September 11, 1995, p. i; and Will J. Jordan and Saundra Murray Nettles, "How Students Invest Their Time Out of School: Effects on School Engagement, Perceptions of Life Chances, and Achievement," Johns Hopkins Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk, Report no. 29, January 1999.

63. Geneva Overholser, "Be Tough on Crime: Care for Kids," *Washington Post*, January 18, 2000, p. A17; Blank and Wade, p. 1; and "Representing Crime Victims and Law Enforcement Nationwide, Illinois Leaders Deliver Anti-Crime Message to Congress," U.S. Newswire, July 8, 1999.

64. Quoted in http://www.fightcrime.org/reports/After-school_Rep.html.

65. Violent crimes include robbery, assault, rape, and murder. See Howard N. Snyder, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, "Juvenile Arrests 1998," December 1999. According to the Office of Congressional and Public Affairs at the Office of Justice Programs in the U.S. Department of Justice, arrest rates may overestimate the number of criminals (one person could be arrested more than once per year, which is likely), or those rates may underestimate criminal activity (not all criminals are arrested). Nevertheless, arrest rates are the best available proxy for the percentage of juveniles who commit crimes.

66. Ibid., p. 11.

67. Property crime offenses include burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Ibid., p. 7.

68. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, "1999 National Report Series: Violence after School," November 1999, pp. 57–59.

69. Quoted in http://www.preventingcrime.org/report/index.htm.

70. Lawrence W. Sherman et al., "Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising," Report to Congress, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, 1997, Executive Summary, July 1998, pp. 1–2, http://www.preventingcrime.org. Crime prevention was defined broadly as any practice shown to result in less crime than would have occurred without the practice. The definition of crime included violent crime as well as delinquency—that is, any behavior that is against the law, including alcohol or other drug use.

71. Ibid., p. 6.

72. Only one school-based afterschool program was studied, and it did not measure delinquency or drug use.

73. Sherman et al., Executive Summary, p. 6.

74. Denise C. Gottfredson, "School-Based Crime Prevention," in Sherman et al., pp. 5-36, 5-56.

75. Ibid., p. 5-54.

76. Lawrence W. Sherman, "Communities and Crime Prevention," in Sherman et al., pp. 3-26 to 3-27.

77. Sherman et al., Executive Summary, p. 6. To meet that standard, a program needed to be found effective in at least one evaluation and the preponderance of the remaining evidence.

78. Sherman, p. 3-24. See also Sherman et al., Executive Summary, p. 10.

79. Sherman, p. 3-29. See also ibid., p. 3-28; and Sherman et al., Executive Summary, p. 10.

80. See Gary D. Gottfredson, "Peer Group Interventions to Reduce the Risk of Delinquent Behavior: A Selective Review and a New Evaluation," *Criminology* 25, no. 3 (1987): 671-715.

81. Sherman, pp. 3-29, 3-30.

82. Steven P. Schinke, Mario A. Orlandi, and Kristin C. Cole, "Boys & Girls Clubs in Public Housing Developments: Prevention Services for Youth at Risk," *Journal of Community Psychology*, Office of Substance Abuse Prevention, Special Issue (1992): 118.

83. See Patrick Tolan and Nancy Guerra, "What Works in Reducing Adolescent Violence: An Empirical Review of the Field," Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, August 1998, pp. 1-66; and Roth et al., pp. 267-94.

84. Peter W. Greenwood et al., *Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: Measuring Costs and Benefits* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 1998), p. 3.

85. The RAND team called it a "graduation incentive" program, and Sherman et al. classified it as an "intensive anti-dropout program" geared toward job placement after graduation. See Shawn Bushway and Peter Reuter, "Labor Markets and Crime Risk Factors," in Sherman et al., pp. 6-1 to 6-21.

86. A fifth site, Milwaukee, was dropped from the analysis in the first year. See Andrew Hahn, "Extending the Time of Learning," in *America's Disconnected Youth*, p. 264.

87. For more on methodological issues see Hahn, pp. 233-65.

88. Quantum Opportunities Program, "Blueprints for Violence Prevention," Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Philadelphia, n.d., p. 55.

89. Gottfredson, p. 5-54.

90. Seppanen, deVries, and Seligson, pp. 34, 40.

91. Ibid., pp. 48-49.

92. Ibid., p. 56.

93. For more information and current practices, see the DOE's Family Involvement Partnership for Learning program, http://www.ed.gov/pubs/PFIE.

94. For a detailed discussion of the universal tuition tax credit, see Patrick L. Anderson et al., "The Universal Tuition Tax Credit: A Proposal to Advance Parental Choice in Education," Mackinac Center for Public Policy, Midland, Michigan, November 1997.

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